1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5)1938 Pukapukans

Stone Seats

Formerly a man might make on the outer beach a stone seat (*tokerelangi*) on which to rest in the cool of the evening, eat the evening meal, and sleep. Informants stated that the two Pukapukan voyagers, Tonu and Taea, saw stone seats on the island of Wakalava and introduced the idea on their return to Pukapuka.

There was apparently much latitude in the way these stone seats were built. Some were built with a stone seat, stone back rest, and a slab at either side for an arm rest; others were made by hollowing out a shallow depression in the sand and facing the bottom and sides of the depression with coral slabs. The sides were inclined at an angle of about 10 to 15 degrees to the bottom; the bottom was at least 6 feet long, and 3 feet wide, wider if a man planned to take wife or sweetheart to sit with him. Other seats were made according to fancy. Each seat was named after its owner and served as a symbol of his prestige. No seats are used today, most of the stones having been used for oven stones; missionary teaching does not countenance the use of stone seats on lonely outer beaches. Macgregor's statement (20, p. 25) that the idea of these seats was brought to Pukapuka by the people of Yayake and that they were used by priests as religious structures for the offering of turtle and fish to the gods received no support from informants who were strongly of the opinion that the seats were places of rest and recreation only.

The stone seat on the southeastern outer beach of Motu Ko, which tradition states was used by the bird man Wate-manave-ese, is now in ruins. The remains of other seats lie close by. The outer beach has been elevated at this place by the piling up of coral gravel through wave action and the ruins of the seats are elevated well under the lee of the raised beach. To have been useful as coral resting sites, the seats must have been built before this beach was elevated. The ruins consist of fragments of stone 1 to 2 feet square. The original stone seat, suggested informants, has been gone for many generations, washed away by high seas. A later generation built on the same site, but these seats were mostly destroyed by the seas; those that remained were pulled down under missionary influence.

Walls

Stone walls marking the boundaries of the reserves (p. 35) have now almost disappeared, but remnants of the wall round Uta are to be seen at the place Matala. The wall consists of large slabs of coral conglomerate set on edge. The old gate (*pa*) through this wall still remains. It consists of a gap about 2 feet wide marked on either side by a stone reputed to have been carried there by the warrior Kupolu. One stone is 7 feet wide, 8 inches thick, and 4 feet 8 inches above ground; the other is 7 feet 8 inches wide, 22 inches thick and 4 feet 4 inches above ground. Each stone is set about 3 feet in the ground. The size of the stones, if typical of all the stones forming the wall, indicates the great labor of building the wall.

House Foundations

The use of small coral slabs set on edge to form the boundary of the house platform and the use of coral pebbles to form the house floor is described on page 116.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

591 child, the parent, or one of the friends. The young men or women used their house as
575 a lounging and sleeping house while continuing to eat their meals with their parents, to assist them in the general tasks of food getting. A parent who did not want his child to leave home would tell his child's friends to betake themselves elsewhere.

593 For the most part, young men and women stayed at home, lived with their parents, and assisted with the tasks of the family. A child who stayed at home was a *tama pili matua* (child close to parent). A favorite child (*tama wakaemaema, tama yele,* or *mayui*) was never permitted to live in a young men's house, especially if the parents, wishing to make a good marriage for the child, had gone to the trouble of graduating it from the house of seclusion. On the other hand, wayward children were not hindered if they wished to live with their friends. Residence in a young men's or young women's house was continued until marriage or until vagaries of personal choice sent the young person back to live with relatives. The present resident
171 agent in the interests of morality does not allow unmarried young people to
591 reside in young men's or women's houses, and this type of living arrangement has been officially discarded.

CULTURAL ATTITUDES TOWARD SEX

582 Once a Pukapukan boy or girl has attained adult status, he or she is at
836 liberty to have sexual experience irrespective of marriage, which indeed usually comes much later in the life of the adult and only when he is ready
831 to assume the specific economic responsibilities that marriage entails. It is a matter of no importance that a girl or a bride should be a virgin. There is no word in the language to characterize such a physiological state. Rather has a woman who has borne a child out of wedlock by this act proved herself able to bear her husband heirs to carry on his paternal descent line. A girl for whom parents wished a particularly good marriage found a certain but minor emphasis on the importance of preserving virginity but this was more a matter of preventing her from attaining a reputation for being promiscuous than a matter of interest in her virginity. That the sacred maid (*mayakitanga*) of the chief was barred from sexual intercourse of any nature throughout her life was perhaps due to the religious functions she had to perform and was, at any rate, exceptional.

839 For the ordinary girl there is nothing in Pukapuka approaching the in-
864 stitutionalized rupturing of the hymen by an elder which occurs elsewhere in Polynesia, nor is there any institutionalized instruction of the adolescent in sex matters. Knowledge was obtained by the boy or girl through personal experimentation with members of the opposite sex. Informants remarked that a virgin who wishes to save her lover the trouble will digitally rupture her own hymen before going to him. But this is a matter of individual choice.

I;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

833 836 The cultural attitude is that the man is and should be the aggressor in initiating sexual experience, the woman the passive agent. Molingi, the informant consulted most freely about these matters, expressed the feeling of cultural disapproval when she stated that most girls of her acquaintance are bad (*kino*) because they are *wia eia* (run after men). She stated that some of these girls have sexual intercourse before the menses occur, but they are exceptional. Molingi distinguished between those girls who are really promiscuous (*wia eia*) and those who have but one or two lovers. She attached 837 no moral blame to married men who cohabit with unmarried girls, but placed 833 all the blame on the girls. Whereas the term *wia eia* is theoretically applicable to men, it is in fact applied only to women, which again indicates that the man is the rightful aggressor. If the role is reversed by a woman, the man is considered helpless and blameless; disapproval is reserved for the woman, and no regard is paid to deviant personalities which may be unable to conform to the cultural standard.

833 The story of Wanguna (p. 386) tells of a woman who led all the men of the island astray through her aggressive sexual behavior and thus provoked 837 the wrath of the gods to send the seismic wave. Where historical narrative notes that a man led the women of the island astray (story of Waletiale, 1), there is no mention of the anger of the gods being directed against him, even though he is eventually killed by a group of irate husbands. The periods of license that sometimes accompanied the chanting and dancing after fishing and wrestling competitions of former days were excused by some informants on the grounds that it was invariably the women who became worked up to such a pitch of emotional excitement that they would tear off the garments of the men. This is commented on by passages in the chants.

831 The general attitude toward sex on the part of both children and adults is that it is a pleasurable play activity. Save obscurely in the case of the sacred maid, there appears to be no connection between sexual practices and typical religious complexes, nor is there any association between ideas of fertility and patterns of religious behavior. The word for copulation among animals is the same as the common word applied to humans, *konikoni*. Attention is frequently directed by adult and child to the copulation of 822 domestic animals, particularly ducks or chickens. A group of people sit and watch the behavior of these animals, not with curiosity, but with an attitude of sympathetic interest and a realistic appreciation of what is happening. A typical comment made after ducks have copulated is the call to the male duck: "Te mokola e, to ute ko tautau ki te kilikili (O duck, your penis is dragging on the ground). Both children and adults laugh heartily at this witticism.

831 Though in general there is no fear attitude associated with relations between the two sexes, nevertheless sickness may be transmitted from one

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

[586
152
837

Other stories, however, indicate that a man might divorce his faithless wife or punish her or her lover physically. The community would agree that he had a certain measure of provocation, even though it might not approve of extreme types of punishment. On the other hand, some stories indicate that a man might be untroubled by a faithless wife and continue to live with her, even though he and all the island knew of her philanderings. The tales do not suggest that either spouse might become jealous of the other for joining in the behavior characteristic of the periods of license. This was socially approved; any jealousy that an individual felt he probably kept to himself. When the husbands plotted to kill Waletiale for seducing their wives, they were apparently more worried by the fact that their wives never came to sleep with them than by the fact that they also slept with Waletiale and his men.

581
836

Molingi discussed the sexual experience of the 33 unmarried women and girls in Pukapuka past the age of puberty, and the likelihood of their marrying. It is difficult to know on what her judgment that certain girls will not marry is based; it is probably, in general, an intuitive feeling that those girls whom she considers promiscuous (*uvia eia*) can not attract husbands, because men do not want as their wives women who have had many men. A few women placed in the class of those not likely to marry are weak, sickly, not apt to bear children. For the rest, no reason was forthcoming beyond, perhaps, a certain ill-disposition evident in the girls in question.

Of the 33 women and girls, 14 are still at school or have but recently left school and are aged up to 18 years. Informant was certain that five of these had lovers, two more probably had lovers, and five have probably not yet had intercourse. Of the remaining two girls she had no knowledge. Of these 14 girls it is yet too early to say which will be promiscuous and which not. There are four other unmarried girls of the same age who have children. One of these girls has had only two lovers and will probably marry soon. The remaining three girls informant characterised as being *uvia eia*, over-sexed, promiscuous. Two of these she thought will not secure a husband, the third may or may not; the matter is doubtful.

There are five women now well on in the thirties, who class as spinsters, women who have never married and who probably will not marry. They are *uvia iino*, disliked by the opposite sex. Of these, four have children; one of these four is rated as promiscuous. The oldest woman without children is said to have been promiscuous in her day. There is a sixth older woman who might be classed as a spinster, but she is the island imbecile, a deaf-mute.

There remain nine young women of the marrying age. Two of these Molingi classes as *uvia eia*, though she thinks that neither of them has had intercourse! One woman who has had a child has had but one or two lovers but will probably never marry. The remaining six girls are all said to be men pursuers. Five of them do not have any children, and of these five, only two are likely to marry. The remaining *uvia eia* woman, who has a child, is also not likely to secure a husband.

The promiscuous woman, generally condemned to remain unmarried and to be thought of as an irresponsible trouble-maker, will probably have chil-

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

dren by various lovers after she realizes her cultural position. She will live with relatives who will welcome the arrival of her children and will care for them with every attention. Her status without a husband in the community will hardly suffer, and she will not be morally condemned in any way. Her lovers will be unmarried or divorced or widowed men. As long as she does not welcome married men to her arms, she will remain a respected member of the group. Only if she becomes a husband stealer (*lakau taetae*) is she likely to run up against the intense disapproval of the married women.

A bachelor is referred to by the descriptive phrase, *kili pipilo* (bad-smelling skin), or *kiko kakava* (bitter flesh). There is no name for the bachelor status in relation to marital life, and such a status is outside the norm. Two very old men, one in Ngake, one in Loto, have never married; and one man in Yato of about 35 years is still unmarried. Besides these three there are only two deaf-mute males who will not marry. Of the two old men, informant felt that there was perhaps some truth in the descriptive phrases used of them. The younger bachelor helps to support his married sister and her large family; he may yet marry. There is no suggestion that any of these men is not normal psychologically or physically.

COURTSHIP

Patterns of courtship differ when individuals have in view a permanent relationship leading to marriage and when they intend a semi-permanent liaison or the pleasure of an evening only. Patterns also differ for relations between two unmarried persons and between a married person with one other than the socially recognized spouse.

A young man or woman is expected to enter into a temporary liaison as soon as he or she has completed the adulthood rite. In fact, one informant, Iti, stated that the girl's rite itself included the girl's first sexual experience.

The regular parading of the girls in the evening up and down the village street on the look-out for lovers and possible marriage mates was apparently a common custom in the days before the curfew sounded in Pukapuka.

Some men preferred to arrange meetings with girls through an intermediary. This custom was not common. The intermediary was called *kalelo* (messenger), *tangata tuku poloaki* (meeting arranger), or simply *yoa* (friend). The friend visited the girl to give her the message (*poloaki*), naming the meeting place. Stories indicate that the use of an intermediary was often as dangerous as it was helpful to the lover's success.

Some permanent and semi-permanent liaisons are sealed by the exchange of gifts between the two lovers (*ipo*). These gifts are termed *makatapu*, a word applied only to such presents. An intermediary effects the exchange, taking a present to the girl and receiving from her a gift of talo for her lover. The intermediary keeps some food for himself in payment for his

1;Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

services. Today an intermediary is looked upon by stricter parents with scorn as one who aids and abets intrigues, but there is no reason to assume that he was similarly regarded in former times. The gifts exchanged between lovers are tapu, to be used by the lovers alone. Another who wittingly or unwittingly wore *wakatapu* clothes or ate *wakatapu* food would be committing a disgraceful act (*luma*) termed *kai wakatapu*. The punishment for breaking this tapu is boils on the body and swellings over the eyes. Thus if the father of a family commits adultery and receives gifts of food from his mistress which he allows his children to eat, his children will suffer from sickness. Informants suggested that this is a good explanation for the incidence of hereditary ulcers and swellings that seem to visit successive generations of certain Pukapukan families, though they were unable to rationalize the fact that the gifts were dangerous to outsiders in the first instance.

MARRIAGE

Monogamy is the rule in marriage. In those exceptional cases of contemporary sororate or levirate, only the sibling with whom a person first lived was considered the married mate. Of the plural wives of individual men in the genealogies, informants stated that they were successive. Only one story collected concerns a polygamous man of Pukapuka (1). As divorce was easily achieved, the stimulus to polygamy which might otherwise have come from the desire for issue was not great, nor was the status of chiefs sufficiently elevated to provide an economic incentive for polygamy.

The paternal lineage (*po*) and sub-lineage (*nukavae*) are nominally neither endogamous nor exogamic. (See table 8.) Closeness of blood relationship, which depends on the numerical size of the lineage, is the limiting factor in intra-lineage marriage.

Table 8. Intermarriage Between Paternal Lineages[a]

	Ngake		Loto		Yato		
	Matanga	Muliwutu	Yangalipule	i Tua	Yalonga	Yayi	Yamaunga
Matanga, Ngake	9	5	2	6	1	—	—
Muliwutu, Ngake	4	—	3	5	—	1	—
Yangalipule, Loto	1	—	—	—	—	1	—
i Tua, Loto	5	1	2	1	—	—	—
Yalonga, Yato	—	—	3	—	—	4	—
Yayi, Yato	5	2	2	4	2	3	—
Yamaunga, Yato	1	1	—	—	—	1	—

[a] Table 8 shows the amount of inter- and intra-lineage marriage in households which came within the census. The boxes indicate inter-marriage between the paternal lineages of each village.

1:Beaglehole and Beaglehole E-5 (1934-5) 1938 Pukapukans

595 587 riage of a man to his deceased wife's sister might be desired and actively encouraged by her family if he was regarded as a good man, a hard worker, a skilled fisherman, and one worth keeping attached to the family. Similar remarks apply to the levirate. A woman living at one time with two brothers is termed *nowine kai wale*. Informants believed that the woman and the brother not her husband would both die early deaths as punishment for the sin. In successive levirate, if the deceased husband had been generous (*atewai*) to them, the widow's family would urge her to marry the deceased's brother.

Personal Choice of Mate

581 Informants suggested that the following qualities were desirable when choosing a wife: beauty of body, breeding certainties, industry and skill at crafts, wealth in talo gardens and coconut trees. Some felt that obedience and a good reputation were important, others that an industrious and fruitful wife was a better choice than any other. Veti regarded it as immaterial how fruitfulness is proved, whether by a man's own effort or by the efforts of another lover and in this he expresses general opinion.

581 The cultural ideal of beautiful womanhood is in terms of averages only. 821 The ideal has: eyes wide apart, a high nose, small firm breasts, a well filled-out body, medium thick lips, and curly or wavy hair. Add to these an aver- 832 age height (a short stature according to western standards), a physically strong and powerful body, light brown skin with an abundance of whitish *tinea* marks, and the ideal is complete. A man or a woman who is trying to win a mate will often make special efforts to beautify the body and to appear industrious, hoping that appearances will help to make the desired mate more sympathetic to the suit. This is termed *wakakume*.

Wedding

584 Formal courtship having been initiated by *unkatapu* gifts of food, ornaments, and other articles of value, marriage is discussed between the two young people.

583 585 When an agreement is reached, the matter is referred to their relatives. If both groups are agreed, the young man goes one evening to the girl's house, sleeps there with the girl, and stays until morning (*wakamalama*). From his presence in the girl's household in the early morning, the people of the village know that the marriage (*wakaeroga*) is accomplished. A young man not intending marriage might sleep with a girl in her house at night but would leave before dawn; this is called *tangotango* and 836 does not imply any obligations on either side.

A man set on marrying a girl who at first refuses him makes frequent and regular 584 presents of fish, nuts, talo, even fishhooks, to her parents, and helps them at every opportunity in house building, canoe making, etc. The parents soon realise his object. They talk to their daughter, telling her she ought to marry the man. If the girl refuses, they give her a thrashing, saying that as they have accepted all the presents, they will be shamed before the whole island if she does not pay back this indebtedness. Willing or

2: Macgregor E-2 (1933) 1935 Pukapukans
834, 797, 836

[Information in this source which is either inadequate, incorrect or duplication has only been filed in category 116: for sexual restrictions and effects of missionary teaching, see pp. 20-21.]

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ11 Pukapuka CZ11

114 124 597 The first paragraphs annotate a somewhat typical conflict, which may be either acute or implicit, between loyalties to blood-parents and those to adopted parents, a conflict that is all the more striking here because Lua did not learn the identity of her own blood-parents until she was about five years old. Adoption occurs with great frequency in Pukapuka, either before or soon after birth. Its function in general is to obtain an heir who will continue the paternal descent-line. Informants were fond of dwelling on the heinousness of those blood-parents who seek to attract back to themselves children they have allowed to be adopted. [673] Along with stealing from village-controlled reserve food-lands *(motu)*, such disloyalty to the adopting parents may be classed as the supremely ugly Pukapukan sin.

114 776 Belief in spirits and the fear of their ghostly visitation upon the living is still very real. Dreams are caused by ghosts, sickness as well, sometimes otherwise unexplainable pregnancies. Children are also disciplined by the threat that [861] ghosts will catch them if they misbehave.

112 [532] Marriage for the Pukapukan did and does come relatively late in maturity. Its object is to secure children who will complete the continuity of the descent-line. Boys and girls formerly went naked until physiological maturity. Then they were formally tested and admitted to sociological adulthood. The girl was allowed to wear the coconut-leaf kilt, the boy his coconut-leaf or pandanus *malo*. Along with this went full participation in village activities and an adult's share in food divisions. Thereafter the young people were given considerable personal freedom. Such freedom was [548] accepted and enjoyed to the full. The infrequent children born out of wedlock were accepted with thanks by the mother's family because they meant extra food in village [836] food-divisions. Chastity before marriage was and is a meaningless concept to the Pukapukan. When the young people tire of a life of freedom, or when one forms a romantic attraction for another of the opposite sex, then a permanent [585] alliance is announced by the establishment of a patrilocal domicile, socially validated by the holding of a food-division and the exchange of gifts between the families of the bride and groom.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

These two, however, went to Rarotonga, and I went to live with my paternal uncle. 159

It was about this time while my mother was away that I started to menstruate. I suppose I must have been about 16 years old, much older I think than other girls when they start their periods. I was very frightened when I first saw the blood, because no one had told me in advance what to expect. I think most girls are frightened at this time. Two years after this I married. 159 145

During these years before my marriage I had many girl friends. One girl, Tolu, older than I and who married before me, was my special friend. We helped each other with special tasks. If one had to collect firewood or harvest *taro* from the gardens then the other would go along too. We often shared our food together. I helped Tolu with her courtship. She would ask me to come and sleep with her on those nights when she wanted to go off to the bush with her lover. When the boy came to the house, Tolu would pinch me and tell me to answer for her should her mother or anyone call to ask if she was safe at home. At this time I did not meet boys or men in the bush. I was very fond of Tolu and when we slept together we would hug each other. I was never annoyed when Tolu went off with men. I was much more proud that I was in her secret and knew something that others did not know. 159 572 836

Before I had menstruated for the first time I had many meetings with young men in the bush. They happened like this. When I was 14 or 15 and living in my father's brother's household, my uncle went to stay for a time with a sick sister in Yato village. In the evening I used to take him his food from our house. Going across the causeway that joins the eastern and western sections of Yato I was grabbed by a young man who asked me where I was going. I said I was taking food to my father. He said, " Hurry, I'll be waiting for you here." I said to him, " No, I'm going to sleep there." Then I passed him by and went to my father. Later in the evening when I returned he was waiting for me. He was a Yato villager, two years older than I, and distantly related, being my mother's mother's father's brother's daughter's daughter's son. He said to me that we should both go to the bush. I told him no, saying that I had not menstruated 159 836

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka OZ11

159 yet and that I was afraid that intercourse would prevent my
836 menses from starting. We argued together for a while, he urging me to come with him and I asked to be allowed to go home. Then he asked me where I slept. I told him on top of the house platform on such-and-such a side. "But," I said, "don't come yet; wait till everyone is asleep. My sister will see you now because we sleep together." We separated then. I went to bed in my house, lying with my sister on the platform, the elders sleeping below. I didn't sleep but lay listening. He entered, stumbled and made a noise. I was very frightened. He climbed up on to the platform, but my parents heard the creaking and began to stir, asking who was making the noise. The young man hurriedly slipped out of the house. He was frightened too. I often saw him after this but I never had intercourse with him.

On another occasion I and a girl friend named Wa went to the beach near the causeway in the early evening. Coming back along the lagoon we saw two people some distance away and we took them to be the village policeman and his wife. As we came near we found they were two young men who grabbed us as we tried to pass them. We could not run away. I told the boys that my father would whip them for interfering with us. The boys said, "You won't go home; we'll stay and all go to the bush. You girls will enjoy it." We said we would go home first and see if our parents were asleep, then the two boys could come for us. The boys agreed. Then the curfew gong sounded and we began to go off home, but the boys would not let us go. They held onto our arms. The policeman came along the beach and saw all four of us together. I was frightened, ran home, closed the house door behind me and fastened it. Then the policeman came to the house and scolded me. My father woke up and asked me what the policeman wanted. I said I did not know. My father went to sleep again and I was so frightened by the boys that I never went to the bush with them at any time.

On another occasion still, I and my two sisters[1] Wa and Lima called in at a house where only one young man happened

[1] These girls were her classificatory sisters, just as when Lua refers to her parents or father in these last paragraphs she means her classificatory parents.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
OZ11 Pukapuka. OZ11

to be sitting. He said to us, "Shall we go?" He meant to the bush, of course. We said to him, "We're three, you're one." He said, no, he could easily find two more boys. We agreed to this and promised to watch for the three boys after our parents were asleep. The boys came to our house late at night. One of them grabbed Wa's feet. She pinched us and told us to get up and come along. We went off with the boys to a deserted place on the outer beach where lovers often meet. We got there and then coupled off. The first boy with whom we had arranged the meeting took me. I protested against this. I said to him, "I don't want you. You're a fellow who has had intercourse with other women long before this." He argued with me. Another boy chose Wa but Wa would not have him. The third got Lima but she would not have him. The boys got angry with us. "Are you just infants?" they said. "Yes, we are just children," we girls answered together. We were very stubborn. The boys got disgusted with us and simply walked off leaving us in the dark bush by ourselves. Then we got angry in turn and went home.

There seem to have been many instances of this sort of ineffective love-making in my early career. Somehow or other, I always got frightened or something went wrong.

Shortly after my first menses my sister Tolu suggested that it would be a good idea for me to marry her brother. I did not want this. My mind was already set on Ono. One day Ono sent a child with a message asking me to come and talk with him. I went to him that night and he asked me to marry him. I liked Ono but I was afraid my adopted parents would not agree to our marriage. Ono was a man of Ngake village and they wanted me to marry someone from Loto. Ono was confident he could win over my parents by talking to them. I told him to try. He asked and was refused. He spoke to me another night saying he would wait and be patient. We met regularly at night. We hugged and embraced but I was afraid to have intercourse with him. Ono asked my parents a second time to be allowed to marry me but again they refused. Later however they asked me whether I still wished to marry Ono. I said yes. Then they said they would leave it up to me.

9:Beaglehole & Beaglehole E-5 (1934-1935) 1939
CZ.11 Pukapuka CZ.11

159 I went to the bush with Ono and talked to him. He
584 asked me to go to Motu Ko, to the reserve islet of Ngake
●836 village, when the people went there to make copra, instead of staying at home and going with the villagers of Lotc to their reserve of Uta. Because my mother and step-father were Ngake villagers I could go with them to Motu Ko without causing comment and in this way I could meet Ono. I arranged this and met Ono the first night we spent at the copra village. I had intercourse with Ono that night. I was frightened this first time. Ono told me it might hurt but it didn't. We met in a place where there were no other people present. Except during my periods we had inter-
[833] course every night, four, three, or two times a night. That is not very often. A woman can keep it up as long as, or longer than a man. We were very young and enjoyed our nightly visits to the deserted places on the outer beach. After we returned from the reserve I continued to see Ono in the bush. Then my mother died and soon afterwards we were married.

159 I do not remember much about Ono when he was a boy. When I would go swimming with my girl friends in the pool I often saw Ono there swimming with the boys. I think I fancied him then. He was not like the other boys. He did not come near me in the pool and I liked him for not doing this. What attracted me about him was his height. He was very tall for a Pukapukan and he had a lot of brown hair. Maybe he was like my father but I don't remember this.

159 We were married in 1918. Ono died in 1929. We never
593 quarrelled and he was always very good to me. I was never unfaithful to him and he never went with other women. Maybe I have said only the best about him, because now I begin to recall our life together I remember that he had a
[837] terrible temper. He whipped me once with a stick when he was unjustly suspicious of my visits to the bush to get taro from my gardens. All men whip their wives at one time or another, all Pukapukan men, at any rate, because they are very suspicious; but Ono did not do it very much to me, and I suppose that is why I at first forgot it. Ono's father lived with us for a while. Then Ono quarrelled with the old man,